1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

133 Madras if it had been reasonably managed. The few 'Dorla' villages are the most miserable in Bastar.

The third sub-division is the Kolab-Sabari valley from the southern slopes of the hills at the edge of the 2,000 feet plateau and the Dantewara valley plateau to the border of the Bhadrachalam taluq of Madras on the south. The northern portion of this, the Sukma zamindari, is a punchbowl ringed by the high edges of the Jagdalpur and Dantewara plateaux from Tulsidongri in the north-east counter-clockwise to a point in the south-west of the zamindari where the foot-hills of the Gogonda-Tikanpalli hills approach the Kolab-Sabari near Chikpalli; the hills are continued across the river and the Bastar border still counter-clockwise towards Malkangiri, and thence back to Tulsidongri. There are two small detached portions of Jagdalpur tahsil in the north of the zamindari, around Kukanar and the lower waters of the Thakawara and Kumakoleng rivers respectively. South of Sukma zamindari the valley opens out again to form the main block of Konta tahsil, including the former Bhiji zamindari, the level of which falls nearly to 250 feet above the sea by Konta at its south-east corner; here the Bastar portion of the valley is very narrow, as nearly all the south of Konta tahsil is occupied by the ranges of the Golapalli mountains which at one point reach a height of more than 2,800 feet.

132 In contrast with north Bastar, with its evergreen moist forests, cool climate, abundant water-supply and often thick population,
133 south Sukma, almost all Konta, the Pamer-Kotapalli zamindari
137 and much of south Bijapur are hot dry regions of deciduous forests, deficient water and sparse population. The rivers are short stony torrents rushing down in the monsoon to the adjacent Godavari, Talper or Kolab-Sabari, and drying up often before January. Teak is the characteristic timber tree.

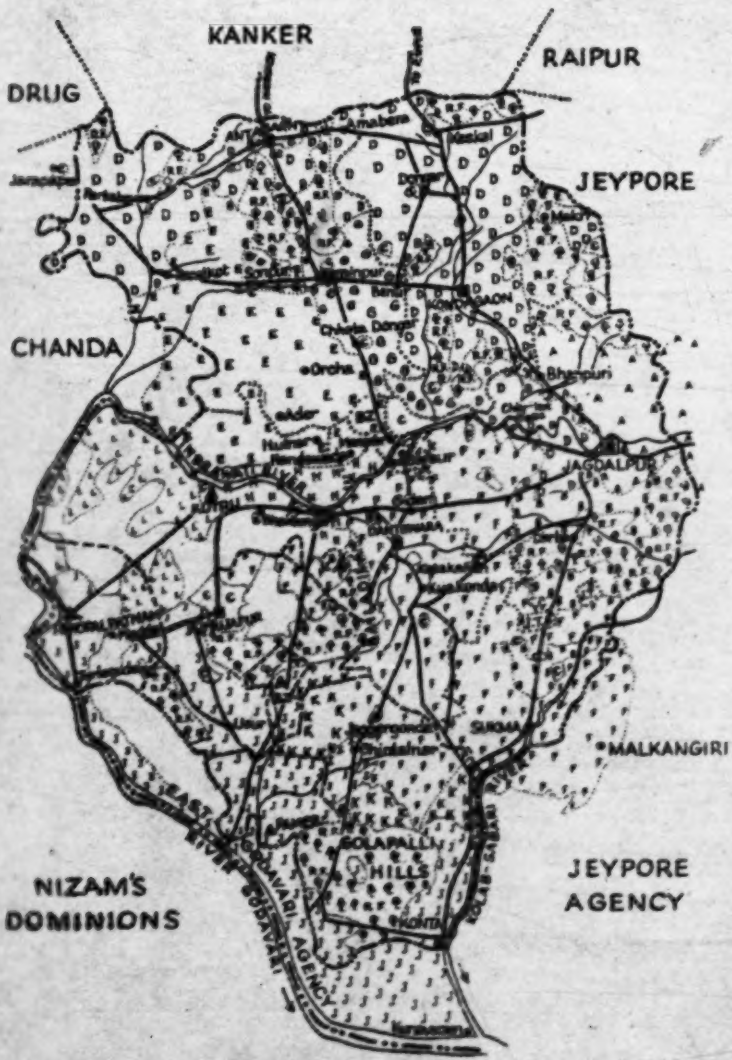
135 There will be found in Appendix I a statement of the areas and populations of the six tahsils and four zamindaris into which modern
● 162 Bastar is divided. Each of these administrative units is called after the name of its headquarters; except Jagdalpur with a (1931) population of 10,128, the other headquarters are only villages, and not always large villages; in 1931, of the 2,442 villages in Bastar only five had populations between 2,000 and 2,500, and forty-two populations between 1,000 and 2,000.

634 Frequent mention was made in this chapter of the smaller '*pargana*' unit. The first use that I can find of this word is in Appendix IX of Glasfurd's 1862 report, in which, of the forty-three non-zamindari sub-divisions of Bastar, seventeen are called *parganas* and twenty-six *garhs*. In Elliot's 1855 report the names are given of forty-eight *garhs* and nine taluqs into which the non-zamindari

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

131
162

PLATE IV



BASTAR STATE ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP
Scale (approx.) : 1 inch= 32 miles

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
A W32 Gond A W32

Bison-horn Maria and Muria neighbours, and seldom learnt even by those State officials who are excellent interpreters in other dialects; and I fancy that the Hindi admixture is considerably less in ordinary use than in the specimens collected for the Linguistic Survey. It is certainly untrue of Parji that the name indicates rather a tribal than a linguistic difference from Gondi proper. The most marked difference of customs is their style of dancing, which resembles that of the small remnant of the Munda tribe of Gadbas still surviving in two or three villages between them and the Bhattras; they dance in rollicking circles accompanied by their own whistling or by wooden flutes, in a manner reminiscent of certain figures of the 'Lancers', and as different as their dancing dress from the Bison-horn dances of their Maria neighbours, and pleasanter to see and hear than any other dances of Bastar except the Gadba.

KEY TO PLATE IV

State or Provincial Boundary
Tribal Boundary .....
Roads, Forest
Tahsil Headquarters ■
Bhattras A
Halbas C
Marias, Abujhmar or Hill E
"Dhorias" or Murias probably once Hill Marias, now lowlanders G
Koitor of the riverain tract or Dorlas J

Tahsil or Zamindari Boundary
Roads, P.W.D.
Reserved Forests
Zamindari Headquarters A
Parjas B
Murias D
Marias, Bison-horn or Dandami F
Hill Marias influenced by Bison-horn Marias H
Mixed Dorla & Bison-horn Maria, or latter exposed to Telugu influence K

Mixed Dorla & Hill Maria, or Hill Maria who have almost become Dorla L

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

of the inferiority complex palmed off his name Dor Koi or Lowland Koi on the ignorant Telugu as Dora Koi, and has proceeded to object to the name Koi and demand always the name Dora or Dorla, simultaneously impressing on the Telugu how superior he is to the Highlander.

I have verified these points by personal investigation supplemented by reliable information from assistants directed to make enquiries on specified lines. When the traveller descends the Aranpur pass, he finds the villagers at the foot of the pass in such villages as Gumadasaka, Bikrampalli, Kondasaoli, Kamargudem, Kodmair, Karrigudem, Bayampalli, Kundair, Ursangal, Durandarbha, Michiguda, Vadri, Silger, Mandimarka, Singaram, Tarlaguda Banjepalli and Durma inhabited by people indistinguishable from the Bison-horn Marias above the pass, or by Maria Lohars. The only difference is a noticeable Telugu influence on their Maria dialect. At Jaggergonda, six or seven miles beyond the foot of the pass, he meets the first Telugu-speaking non-Koitor village, and just beyond this comes to the first Dorla villages, Rajpenta, Achkat and Kamaram. Southwards in the country covered by the new Ordnance Survey one-inch maps, on sheet 65 F/3, Singaram in square B1, Puvarti, Junaguda and Rayagudem in A2, Chimili, Surpanguda, Kistaram and Morpalli in B2, all the villages in A3, and Tadmetla, the only village in B3, are Dorla villages. Generally speaking, all the riverain tracts of Bhopalpatnam zamindari, Bijapur tahsil, Kotapalli-Pamer zamindari and southern Konta tahsil are Dorla villages, though here and there will be found Gottor Koya, i.e. Bison-horn Maria villages in Konta Dorla country such as Tokanpalli, Burkapalli and Chintaguppa (in map 65 F/3, square C3).

These Dorla at census refused to call themselves Koya, and were not returned as such but as Gonds; and they are the principal element in the 19,426 professing tribal religion out of the 24,407 Bastaris returned as Gonds in the 1931 census. The 4,981 Hindu Gonds returned are mostly Dorlas from the Lingagiri *pargana* of Bhopalpatnam and the adjacent parts of Bijapur, who have become Lingayats, wearing a *rudraksha* bead in a silver box or a Shiva *lingam* slung on a thread.

It will be clear, therefore, that the 9,988 persons returned at the census as Koyas are not the Dorla or lowland Koyas returned as Koyas in the East Godavari Agency. They are the Bison-horn Marias living at the foot of the passes in Konta and Sukma and slightly influenced by Telugu contacts. Of the Koya dialect of Gondi returned in 1931 as spoken by 6,172 persons in Bastar, however, it is probable that it represents the speech of the Dorla

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32

Bison-horn Maria

Koyas, since it alone, being greatly corrupted by Telugu, presents any marked difference from the Maria and Muria dialects.

Intermarriage is frequent between the Bison-horn Marias of the plateaux and those at the foot of the passes, but now never occurs between them and the Dorla, the latter having become a true endogamous group.[1]

The Koyas of the Malkangiri taluq of Jeypore, across the Bastar border from the Sukma zamindari and north-east Konta, seem on the contrary to be Bison-horn Marias.[2] Intermarriage still takes place between the Marias of Sukma and the 'Koyas' of Malkangiri; and these same Sukma clans intermarry with the clans on the Dantewara and Jagdalpur plateaux. In fact, intermarriage is not unknown between Dantewara and Malkangiri clans, and it is not unusual for a man wanted by the police in Dantewara to abscond to his fellow-tribesmen, possibly relatives, in Malkangiri. The headmen of Edpal and Dodpal on the Dantewara-Sukma border stated that the Koitor of Malkangiri had migrated there some generations back from the Bailadila mountains, and named relatives among them belonging to the Sodi clan. Bailadila had in fact been practically deserted long before its inclusion in the Bailadila Forest Reserve; and some superstition attaches to it which prevents surrounding Maria clans from settling there, though more than one attempt has been made to found permanent forest villages so as to obviate the labour now entailed on the villages below when the Maharaja and his officials go there for the hot weather. The most tempting offers fail to attract settlers; even as labourers the Marias profess fear of staying on the hills unless accompanied by a European, over whom Elma Pen, the god of the mountain, has no power. The only chance, they say, of re-settling the place is to get hold of a descendant of the original inhabitant, preferably of the clan-priest (*modul-waddas*), who knows the godlings and demons of the hills.

[p.58 is blank]

[1] Glasfurd in the ethnological papers already quoted commented thus on physical differences between the lowlanders and highlanders of South Bastar. 'The Koys are very dark, quite as much so as the Telingas; while the Gottawars and Marias are generally copper-coloured, some being quite fair. Their faces are rather broad than long, and they have small eyes, which, with the almost entire absence of hair on the face, gives these altogether a strongly marked Tartar-like physiognomy.'

[2] It is important to remember that the Dorla also use bison-horn or buffalo-horn dancing head-dresses, and in other ways also show that they were once the same people as those whom I term Bison-horn Marias, as indeed the traditions of both peoples have been seen to assert.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

000 The Zamindar, Mr. Dharamrao Bhujangrao, is himself a Raj-Gond, Atrāmi (6-god) by clan (*pari*); he was then a member of the provincial Legislative Assembly and had been for a short time a Minister in the Provincial Government. His huge estate comprises 2,545 square miles in Sironcha tahsil and 55 square miles in Garchiroli tahsil. The *District Gazetteer*[1] describes almost the whole estate as consisting of 'one unbroken range of forests', drained by the great Wainganga, Pranhita and Indrawati rivers and their tributaries. 'On the extreme east stretches a simple maze of hills of considerable height, which fill almost the whole of the large tract east of the junction of the Palmāgotam,[2] Paralkot and Indrawati rivers at Bhamragarh.[3] These hills[4] attain a height of from 2,000 to 3,000 feet and are absolutely inaccessible to any kind of vehicle. Some distance south of Ahiri itself are situated the Bhimaram and the Dewalmāri hills, and to the east of these lies another range of hills known locally as the Mallanāgutta range. The greatest length and breadth of the estate are each about eighty miles, and, with the exception of Government forests of an area of about 82,000 acres which have been acquired in its interior, it is altogether uninterrupted by other properties.'

161 In the 1931 census Ahiri had in all its 2,600 square miles only 358 villages, 7,748 occupied houses and 40,450 inhabitants, a population, that is, of only sixteen to the square mile. 162 It is thus by far the most thinly populated area of the Province. Even the other Chanda zamindaris had 38 persons to the square mile, and the zamindaris of the Sanjari (Balod) tahsil of Drug district 94. Ahiri's population included 28,968 followers of tribal religion, of whom only 43 were literate, 97 Brahmans, 8,842 Hindus, 2,042 Depressed Classes, 427 Muslims and 72 others. The followers of tribal religion nearly all were 'Maria'. The Hindus would include some hinduized Gonds near Ahiri and along the Pranhita Valley and the Chanda-Sironcha road; but of all the 34,776 Maria enumerated in Chanda district only 274 returned their religion as Hindu and even of the 95,358 other Gonds in the district only 25,302 were Hindu.

It is remarkable to contrast the effect on the tribal population

[1] *Chanda District Gazetteer* (Allahabad, 1909), p. 449.

[2] The quarter-inch *Ordnance Survey of India* sheet does not record this name. The three rivers which meet at Bhamragarh are the Indrawati, the Kotri (which is the Paralkot here mentioned) and the Nibra, which in this book (p. 25-7), I have called by its Maria name Nei Bherat ('Dog River').

[3] *Ordnance Survey of India*, ref. 65A, MV6750. See p. 22 for an account. The confluence of the Indrawati and Kotri or Paralkot rivers is illustrated facing p. 182 of *The Aboriginal Problem*.

[4] These are the projections into Ahiri of the Abujhmar Mountains already mentioned.

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

563 Pendri is now mainly a Marar village, its 451 inhabitants including only some forty Marias and sixty Halbas. They seem able to live in easy symbiosis with all Gonds, to whom they impart much of their agricultural skill. Their intrusion into these tribal areas, provided it is controlled, is therefore not a bad thing.

178 At Jharapapra there was a once familiar sight, the Halba log-god of the zamindari family, in type precisely similar to the clan-gods of the Hill Marias and the Halba log-gods at Chingnur near Bare Dongar and at other Halba centres in Bastar. The *Kutumb-Naik* headman of the Bare Dongar Halbas had told me in 1929 how some years before the then zamindar of Jharapapra had sent a party of Halbas to carry off the Chingnur log-god to Jharapapra, and how the god had resented this and 'flown' back to Chingnur from the first halting place of the god-snatchers.

000 Of the visits to Aundhi[1] and, next day, to Manpur[2] in Koracha zamindari and some way along the Manpur-Panabaras road, there is little to say except that, generally speaking, the Drug Court of Wards regime in Panabaras and Aundhi seemed to be progressive, and the Drug District Council to do more for the Partially Excluded Areas than its Chanda counterpart.

●[162] In the four Partially Excluded zamindaris of Drug the aboriginals form well over sixty per cent. of the population. The 427 worst feature of these estates is that there is a *thekadari* system, originally akin to that once prevalent in Bastar, and that many of the *thekadars*, especially those on whom the semi-permanent 'protected' status has been conferred, are non-aboriginal oppressors of the local Gonds and Marias, while comparatively few aboriginal headmen, except in Panabaras and Ambagarh-Chauki zamindaris, have been declared protected. The whole original conception was wrong in that it involved conversion of the tribal headman or *gaontia* into a lessee or *thekadar* of his village. Various examples have been given in *The Aboriginal Problem*[3] of the way in which these Maria headmen were thus transformed into *thekadars*, and then lost their villages in the great famines, or for other causes, to non-aboriginal intruders, who now rack-rent and oppress the surviving aboriginal tenants. We may give here one example, that of the village of Dokhla in Panabaras zamindari. This village was settled before 1861 by a Maria headman and ten other Marias. The headman absconded during the great famines at the turn of the century. Another Gond was then given the lease, but ultimately could not pay the lease-money and had to surrender the village.

[1] *Ordnance Survey of India*, Sheet 64D, ref. MQ5349.
[2] Ibidem, Sheet 64D, ref. MQ8366.
[3] Pp. 79-81.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

are excellent, and there are few places to which a bullock-cart and even a car cannot be taken with a little care.

Although the Muria area is divided officially into the two tahsils I have described, the people themselves think much more in terms of the smaller administrative unit, the pargana, the Manjhi or Chief of which is the court of appeal in all tribal disputes. The parganas of Narayanpur are clearly defined blocks of territory with considerable homogeneity of custom and fashion within their borders. But in Kondagaon, the parganas are very broken up. The Keskal, Kongur, Chalka and Mardapal Parganas are well defined, but the Hatiya and Sonawal Parganas, to name no others, are scattered all over the tahsil, and it must be hard for the Pargana Manjhi to exercise any sort of control over the area in his charge.

It has always been a tradition of the State to allow the village panchayats, which we may call judicial committees of village elders, to have jurisdiction over most tribal offences with a final appeal to the Maharaja. Since 1932 the jurisdiction of the village courts has been greatly extended to include cases of simple hurt and assault, minor thefts, mischief, trespass, adultery and enticement. They can also settle civil claims up to a value of twenty-five rupees. The Pargana Manjhi are not personally members of these courts, but to them lies any appeal from their findings. These men, who have the privilege of wearing red turbans, are a useful link between the aboriginals and the Administration. Though some of them abuse their position and tend to divert fines to their own use, they are on the whole a first-rate body of men, and their friendship is invaluable to the investigator.

The tradition of local self-government, so firmly established in the State, is an important factor in the conditions that make the ghotul and its organization and discipline possible.

II. The Tribal Population of Bastar

The tribal population of Bastar is varied and interesting. In order to simplify my description I will adopt the names given to the tribes by Grigson, though it must be remembered that, convenient though these often are, they are not always the names used by the people themselves.

The Hill Maria are the least influenced by the outside world and have retained most of their religious and cultural institutions. They live in the Abujhmar Mountains and there were 11,500 of them in 1931, and probably some 13,000 now. They are both shy and friendly, an attractive people, cultivating their desolate and lonely hills with axe and fire; their life and customs have been fully described by Grigson.

The Bison-horn Maria, a great tribe of some 175,000 persons, live south of the Indrawati in the Dantewara, Konta, Jagdalpur and Bijapur Tahsils and in the Sukma Zamindari. Grigson has studied them in less detail than the Hill Maria.[1] They have very little contact with the Muria of the north, except that they meet parties of them coming down from the Chota Dongar and Mardapal Parganas to dance at the great Marhai at Ghotpal. Their characteristic dance is the marriage dance with a splendid bison-horn headdress. A megalithic culture survives among them, and there are traces of a ghotul system long since moribund.

[1] A detailed study of one aspect of their life will be found in my *Maria Murder and Suicide* (Bombay, 1943); some of their folk-tales are given in my *Folk-Tales of Mahakoshal* (Bombay, 1944).

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

INTRODUCTION

The Bhattra. In 1931 the Bhattra numbered 36,611 in Bastar, but there are many more of them in Jeypore and Kalahandi. In Bastar they are strongest in the north-east of the Jagdalpur Tahsil, but a 'Bhattra movement' is spreading

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ABORIGINAL TRIBES IN BASTAR STATE

among the Muria of Kondagaon. Its main features are the wearing of a sacred thread and the abolition of the ghotul. They are said to have come with the first Raja of Bastar from Warangal, and they are rapidly becoming a Hindu caste like the Raj Gond, to whom they are probably related.

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

101 *The Dhurwa*, or Parja, live in the south-east of the Jagdalpur Tahsil and in the Sukma Zamindari. In Bastar there are about 20,000 of them, but there [162] are many more of the allied Poroja across the border in Orissa. Their dancing is distinctive, but many of its elements can be paralleled among the Muria.

The Gadaba. There are very few of these left in Bastar. In 1931 only 398 were returned. The Bastar Gadaba have retained little that is characteristic of their tribe. They have no connexion with the Muria of the north.

The Halba. This is a powerful and important near-Hindu caste, probably descended from the old military garrisons stationed in the larger villages. [162] There were 18,427 of them in 1941, of whom 4599 were in the Narayanpur and 3149 in the Kondagaon Tahsil. Their language, Halbi, is used throughout the State; many of the Gondi-speaking Muria use it as a second language, though Chhattisgarhi is now competing with it. The best folk-poetry there is in Bastar is composed in Halbi. The Halba sometimes serve as priests of the Anga clan-gods in the Muria country and the caste has its own Anga similar to those of the Muria.

[162] *The Dhakar* is a new caste—9596 strong—recruited from the offspring of mixed Halba and Kshattri unions. Many of its members, by their intelligence and ability, have won good positions in the State.

The Jagdalpur Muria, or Raja Muria, are in my opinion the least attractive people in Bastar. Like the Raj Gond, they consider themselves superior to the Maria or Muria of the north; like the Raj Gond they have lost most of their own culture without assimilating that of the Hindus. It is possible that the Raja Muria are civilized Bison-horn Maria rather than civilized Muria, but it is impossible to be sure. They have been greatly exposed to external influence, from the Palace, from Orissa, from the cult of Danteshwari; many of their villages are leased to outsiders. Grigson estimated that there were about [162] 32,000 Raja Muria in 1931; there may be some 40,000 now.

Of these tribes the most important in their influence on the Muria are the Hill Maria. The Bhattra and Raja Muria exercise a disintegrating effect upon them in the south. The Halba live in scattered little communities throughout the Muria area and influence those who live in their immediate neighbourhood.

Other castes living among the Muria are the Rawat, the Mahara, the Kalar, the Lohar, the Ghasia, the Ganda, the Nahar and the Pardhan.

The Rawat are the cowherds living in almost every village. They are also known as Ahir or Kopa. Their children are usually admitted to membership of the ghotul. The Rawat's association with the cow ensures him a good social position. As Eha says, 'His family having been connected for many generations with the sacred animal, the cow, he enjoys a certain consciousness of moral respectability, like a man whose uncles are deans or canons'.

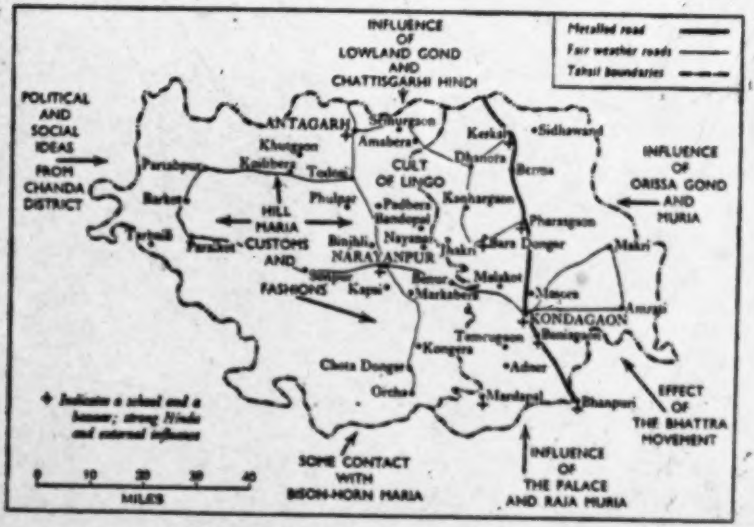
[162] *The Mahara*, who numbered 32,787 in 1941, the *Ganda* (7130) and the *Panka* (4178), on the other hand, have officially a very low status. No one is 'untouchable' in a Muria village, but children of these castes are not usually [58] welcomed in the ghotul and a liaison or marriage with a Mahara or Ganda is regarded as unforgivable. Once at Lamkhanar I met a Muria, Duaru, who went out of his mind because his wife eloped with a Ganda. On the other hand, these people have an important place in tribal life. They are the spinners and weavers of the countryside and supply the Muria with much of their cloth. They generally provide the village watchman or Kotwar and they thus have the duty of reporting Muria births and deaths. Mahara musicians attend the more sophisticated Muria weddings. More important still, they are famous for their powers of divination as Siraha. Scores of Mahara mediums appear at the greater Muria festivals and at the Dassera

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 A W32 Gond A W32
Muria

INTRODUCTION

celebrations in Jagdalpur. Many—but not all—of these people are aboriginal in everything but name; in feature, colour, dress and manners they are hardly to be distinguished from their Muria neighbours.

The Lohar living in Muria villages are generally tribal Lohar, not members of the great Hindu caste that bears this name. Muria and Maria who take to iron-work are separated from the rest of the tribe and have now been formed into an endogamous community of their own. The Muria generally regard the Muria-Lohar as somewhat inferior, but their antagonism does not go so far as to ban Lohar boys and girls from the ghotul. In 1941 there were 7877 Lohar in the whole State and 2718 in the two Muria tahsils.



SKETCH-MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE INFLUENCES AFFECTING THE LIFE AND CUSTOMS OF THE MURIA

Many *Kalar* are obviously aboriginals who have taken to the liquor business. Well-to-do Muria occasionally take contracts for distilling and selling mahua spirit. There are 13,451 Kalar in the whole State.

The Ghasia, of whom there are only 1704, are regarded with considerable scorn by the aboriginals who suspect them of desecrating their graves to obtain the 'grave-furniture' buried with the corpses. Yet they owe much to this caste, which is responsible for making, by the *cire-perdue* process, the brass images and horns used in Muria worship, buttock-bells for dancing and ladles for serving liquor.

The Pardhan. There are only a few members of this most interesting tribe, allied to but distinct from the Gond, in Bastar. But there is a Pardhan

THE MURIA AND THEIR GHOTUL

181 Pujari for the shrine of Lingo Pen at Semurgaon and Pardhan minstrels and priests are to be found in some Muria villages. Pardhan boys and girls are admitted to membership of the ghotul.

I found *Nahar* at Kuntpadar and at Kabonga and neighbouring villages. Their boys and girls had joined the ghotul and were taking a leading part in its affairs. Elsewhere this tribe has a very low position: it is mainly to be found in the west Central Provinces and Berar and is regarded as derived from a mixture of Bhil and Korku.

III. The Muria

Kariya mur ke manse ān. We are the dark people.—Muria saying

The word 'Muria' is used in Bastar to mean, generally, an aboriginal. In this sense it has long been applied by State officials to all the primitive tribes except the Maria of the Abujhmar. In recent years the people themselves have also widely adopted it. Throughout the Dantewara Tahsil and in the Sukma Zamindari, the tribe which Grigson calls 'Bison-horn Maria' returned themselves as 'Muria' at the 1941 Census. There are also the Muria of the Jagdalpur Tahsil. There is thus a good deal of confusion about the proper classification of the Bastar aboriginals. Let me therefore say at once that when I use the term 'Muria' in this book, I apply it to the aboriginals of the Kondagaon and Narayanpur Tahsils whose culture centres round the ghotul. Grigson estimated that there were some 78,000 of these in 1931; there are about 100,000 now. [162]

The name Muria has been derived from *mur*, the palas tree, or from *mur*, a root.[1] There is no apparent reason why the Muria should be named after the palas tree, which is neither a totem, nor specially honoured by them, nor even common in their territory. But the derivation of the word from *mur*, a root, has much to commend it. *Mur* may also mean 'permanent', as in *mur podor*, a permanent or regular name as opposed to a nickname: the Muria, in contrast to the Hill Maria, have permanent settlements and dwellings.

Early writers were impressed by the industry and cleanliness of the Muria. They are good cultivators, said Sir Benjamin Robertson in 1891, 'active, hardy and well-behaved and their villages are generally clean and comfortable'.[2] Hislop describes them as more civilized than the Maria, forming 'the bulk of the agricultural population in the north and centre'. Beyond the eastern frontier, however, 'where they mix with the Khonds in Patna, Kharond and Jeypur, they are somewhat wilder and devoted to the chase'.[3]

184 We must now survey these Muria of the north, for they are not all of one family, and the differences between them are interesting and significant. I will begin with the western parganas, lying to the west and north of the great mass of the Abujhmar Hills. It is in these hills that the key to many a Muria custom will be found. The people of these parganas seem to be Hill Maria who first settled in the plains and then came under strong alien

[1] R. V. Russell and R. B. Hiralal, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), Vol. III, p. 64.
[2] *Census of India, 1891*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 186.
[3] S. Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces* (Nagpur, 1866), Part I, p. 22.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
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184 and Drug Districts. How far the institution was distributed in former times must remain a mystery. Hislop describes the Gaiti Gond as 'calling themselves Koitars . . . Their chief peculiarity, which I have not found among common Gonds, though it may exist even among them, is to have in each village a separate tenement set apart for the occupancy of unmarried men during the night. This they call a *gotalghar* (empty bed house). In some villages there is a like provision made for the unmarried Gaiti women . . . When the Gaitis have returned in the evening from their work in the jungle, where they are very industrious in cultivation and cutting timber, all the families go to their respective houses for their supper, after which the young men retire to their common dwelling, where around a blazing fire, they dance for an hour or two, each having a small drum suspended in front from his waist, which he beats as he moves about while the young women sit at no great distance accompanying the performance with a song.'[1]

●[162] The Census of 1891 returned 5521 of these Gaiti who were then distributed in the Sakoli Tahsil of Bhandara (where they numbered 665), the Brahmapuri Tahsil of Chanda (215) and the north of Bastar (4535).[2] About this W. V. Grigson writes to me: 'The reference to Brahmapuri Tahsil dates back to the time before the separate Garhchiroli Tahsil was created. The reference therefore is probably to the people of the Garhchiroli Zamindaris such as Jharapara and Murramgaon, and possibly to the zamindaris of Karacha, Aundhi and Pannabaras now in Drug District which were in Chanda before the foundation of Drug. Some of these zamindaris border on Antagarh Tahsil and the local Gond is sometimes referred to as Maria and sometimes as Gaita, just as in Sironcha Tahsil the Hill Maria is sometimes called Gaita because his headman is known as the Gaita of the village.'

619 582 With all these differences do the Muria regard themselves as a single tribe? Can any Muria intermarry with any other Muria family? Do they eat together? Have they any connexion with the outside world?

Such problems as these are not easy to solve, for they do not often arise in practice and there are few precedents. Geographical factors tend to split the Muria up into roughly endogamous groups, but there is no rule about this. A Muria boy from the extreme west can go to a ghotul in the east of Kondagaon and find himself at home and perhaps find himself a wife. The ghotul is a fundamental bond, and in theory at least all Muria who have it as part of their culture can marry each other. In practice, the Jhoria Muria of the south-west do not often come into touch with the Gond Muria of the north and east, and marriages between them are rare.

As for different tribes and tribes outside Bastar—the Muria of the northern parganas often intermarry with the Kanker Gond (who also have the ghotul system and are really Muria). The Jhoria Muria marry Hill Maria of the appropriate clans whenever geographical conditions allow them to do so. The same is sometimes true of the Muria of the Paralkot area. Those Muria who have migrated from Jeypore naturally marry their relations who have remained in the Orissa territory. Bindo, the old Muria leader of Benur, told me that 'we marry Kanker Gond and the Bhattra Muria of Jagdalpur (but not the Raja Muria) for we are of the same family; but now we live in the hills and they on the plains. Those who live near the Raja are the true Raja Muria, and they look down on us.' Bindo is here referring to the thirty or forty thousand Muria of the Jagdalpur Tahsil to the south of Kondagaon. These Muria have

[1] Hislop, op. cit., Part I, p. 22.
[2] *Census of India, 1891*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 183.

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CLASSIFIED LIST OF GHOTUL VILLAGES

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This Appendix gives a fairly complete list of ghotul-villages, so far as I was able to discover them during the Census operations of 1940-1: the figures in the third and fourth columns are those for chelik and motiari at that date. They were obtained through the revenue officials and in all the marked villages were carefully checked by members of my party. I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the figures in the unmarked villages.

In order that the reader can see the extent of my inquiries, and the amount of research achieved or unavoidably omitted in any area, I have added to the list of ghotul the following information:

*** means that I myself have visited the ghotul or that I am intimately acquainted with its members. Two or more of my colleagues also have visited the place, and all information has been carefully checked. Those ghotul that I know better than others have their names printed in large type. The initials S.H. stand for Mr Shamrao Hivale.

** means that the village has been visited by two or more members of my party, and that I have reasonably full and confirmed knowledge of the ghotul and its affairs.

* means that the village has been visited by members of the party, but that I have only general information about it.

The letter 'J' in the second column means that the ghotul is of the older *jodidār* type; the letters 'AB' mean that it is of the *adal-badal* type where partners are changed.

Any future investigator should not rely too much on these notes. A ghotul which was large and flourishing in 1941 may have entirely changed its character by 1947. Boys and girls grow up and make a once dull ghotul interesting: others marry and deprive a formerly lively ghotul of its most prominent members.

The Kondagaon Tahsil

Amrawati Pargana

A pargana to the extreme east of Kondagaon, lying in and round the Makri Reserved Forest. There are not many Muria villages and most of them are under Oriya or Bhattra influence.

Dadi ..	..	9	7
* Gudsara ..	AB	10	8
Gumri ..	..	7	7

Aonri Pargana

This pargana comprises villages scattered over the northern plateau to the east of the Keskal and Kongur Parganas. The ghotul are said to be of the *adal-badal* type, and the chelik dance the Mahna Dandar and not the Pus Kolang. Marriages are celebrated in the bride's house.

Aonri ..	..	18	15
Charbera ..	..	10	8
Herwakodo	..	7	4
Khetarpal	..	15	12
Kongera ..	..	8	6
Kosmi ..	..	10	9
Nawagarh	..	20	15
Nayanar ..	..	12	10

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Nirachhindli	..	..	15	11
Palora	..	..	9	9
Sawala	..	..	16	15
Sonpur	..	..	8	7

Bamni Pargana

A small pargana south-west of Kondagaon town, in the neighbourhood of the Golawand Reserved Forest.

*** Bamni	..	J	30	22
* Borgaon	..	AB	8	7
* Dhansuli	..	AB	9	9
* Totar	..	AB	10	9

Bangoli Pargana

The Bangoli Pargana consists of a few villages in the west-central area, adjoining the Narayanpur Tahsil. Chelik and motiari dress in almost Jhoria fashion.

** Banchapai		AB	10	9	
** Bangoli	..	AB	10	8	
*** CHINGRI	..	J	15	14	Camped here 21-3-41. Many small *kotokal* stones.
** Chiyanar	..	AB	10	9	
** Kehalakot	..	AB	11	10	Met and talked with several boys in 1941.
** Morenga	..	J	18	14	

Chalka Pargana

This is one of the Jhoria Parganas, and its villages are friendly and attractive. It lies to the west of the tahsil, parallel to the Narayanpur-Chota Dongar road, which is only five miles away across low hills. The river Baordig runs through the pargana.

*** ADNAR	..	AB	14	12	An important religious centre. Camped here on 31-3-41 for festival described at pp. 218ff.
*** Alwar Jogi		AB	5	4	Camped here 30-3-41.
* Alwar Karati		J	7	5	
* Banagaon	..	AB	7	8	
* Barko	..	AB	8	8	
* Bawri	..	J	7	5	
*** BAYANAR	..	J	18	16	A pretty village under a hill, whereon are many shrines. Camped here in March, 1941.
** Cherang	..	J	10	9	
* Chichdongri		AB	12	11	
* Junganiban		AB	15	12	
*** KEJANG	..	AB	15	13	Very charming and interesting boys of whom I saw a lot at Bayanar and Telanga.
* Kongera	..	AB	8	7	
* Korobera	..	J	7	7	
* Maragaon	..	AB	10	10	
** Mungwal	..	AB	12	9	
*** NARIYA	..	AB	14	12	An interesting ghotul with friendly boys. Visited 22-3-41.
* Nugali	..	AB	9	7	
* Pala	..	AB	12	12	

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*** Temrugaon	J	13	14	On the banks of the Baordig. Camped 22-24-3-41.
*** Telanga ..	J	12	11	Visited 27-3-41. Saw a wedding and incident described on p. 521.
* Toram ..	J	9	7	

Hatiya Pargana

This pargana, whose name implies a 'bazaar' or civilized area, is a very large and scattered one, extending over the whole area north of Kondagaon. It includes Dongrigarh only four miles from Kondagaon, and Sidhawand forty miles to the north. Generally the Pus Kolang and Diwali dances are not performed; marriages are at the bride's house; and the megalithic culture has practically disappeared.

*** Alor ..	AB	72	58	Magnificent ghotul and dancing. S.H. visited on 17-4-41 and V.E. on 15-11-41. Pillar to Lingo Pen.
Arandi ..	..	30	24	
Baijanpuri	..	13	14	
Bail ..	..	10	10	
*** Bara Dongar	AB	7	6	Beautiful village with Hindu temples. Bazaar and school. Small Muria hamlet with ghotul. Visited in 1937 and several times afterwards.
* Barbatar ..	AB	15	12	
Bayalpur ..	..	7	6	
* Belgaon ..	AB	8	7	
*** Berma ..	J	23	17	Friendship begun on 12-11-40, other contacts on 3-7-3-41 and 1-3-12-41. Admirable headman and friendly children.
* Bhandarwandi	AB	13	12	
** Bhiragaon	J	10	10	
* Bhumka ..	AB	11	9	
*** Bisrampuri	AB	79	57	Visited on 7-11-40.
** Chandagaon	AB	10	11	
Chhindli ..	..	23	12	
Chichari ..	..	8	9	
* Chilputi ..	AB	23	22	
* Dariya ..	AB	5	6	
Deodongar	..	16	14	
Deohardull	..	9	8	
* Deokhargaon	AB	9	11	
Dondra ..	..	10	8	
*** Dongrigura	AB	17	16	Camped here with B. S. Guha 22-2-41. Guha took measurements of Muria here and in neighbouring villages.
Gare ..	..	16	14	
Guhaborand	..	9	8	
Hakla ..	..	7	7	
Hatma ..	..	9	8	
Honarwandi	..	9	6	
Jorekura ..	..	11	10	
Kalgaon ..	..	8	8	
** Karagaon ..	J	13	14	
* Karmari ..	AB	8	4	
Khairawand	..	14	17	
Khalari ..	..	12	18	
* Khargaon	AB	21	15	
Kilra ..	..	8	8	

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** Kohkametta	J	9	7	
*** KOKORI ..	AB	15	14	Camped here 22-31-12-41. A good headman, but ghotul disturbed as result of scandal the previous year. Good boys' dancing.
* Korabargaon	J	6	7	
Kosahadnli	..	12	13	
Kumarbargaon	..	11	6	
Machhli ..	..	5	8	
*** MAGHEDA ..	AB	20	15	Delightful village near the Jeypore border. Visited 30-12-41.
* Manjhlborand	AB	13	11	
Manjhichera	..	21	19	
Masukokori	..	15	8	
Nalajhar ..	..	6	7	
Narna ..	..	8	5	
*** PALARI ..	J	26	23	Visited on 26-2-42 with B. S. Guha. Very friendly ghotul.
Parond ..	..	14	15	
Patla ..	..	8	5	
*** Pendrawand	AB	10	9	Visited 6-11-40.
Pitechuwa..	..	7	5	
* Pusapal ..	AB	8	6	
*** SIDHAWAND	AB	20	14	Visited 3-7-11-40 and 3-7-3 41 for a wedding. Many other contacts with chelik.
Siwnipal ..	..	10	8	
* Taragaon ..	J	9	8	
Tewsa ..	..	8	10	
** Themgaon..	AB	10	8	
Toskopal ..	..	27	18	
*** ULERA ..	AB	21	16	Pretty village, visited 26-12-41, with excellent headman and large ghotul. Near Jeypore border. Falconry and fairly good dancing.
Undri ..	..	11	6	
Yeranga ..	..	27	30	

Keskal Pargana

The Keskal Pargana is fairly homogeneous, in the north-west corner of the tahsil. Much of it is composed of the hills known as the Mari Hills on the edge of the plateau overlooking Kanker State. As always where external influence is strong the Muria here are suspicious and unfriendly. The chelik dance the Pus Kolang, know the legend of Lingo, but marriages are in the bride's house, and memorial menhirs are not erected.

*** Amgaon ..	J	20	15	Visited 7-11-40. Good dancing and games.
Amaguhan	..	5	7	
Badra ..	..	6	6	
* Batrali ..	AB	11	12	
Chikladih ..	..	8	9	
Harwel ..	..	12	10	
Jamgaon ..	..	6	6	
Khale Chandeli	..	13	12	
Kodobhat	..	8	7	
Kudalwahi	..	9	5	
Manikpur ..	..	12	13	
Matenga ..	..	16	12	

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** Mokpal	..	AB	10	9
* Salebhat	..	AB	12	9
* Sargipal	..	AB	7	8
Umradah	..	..	7	3
Upamurmend		..	11	9

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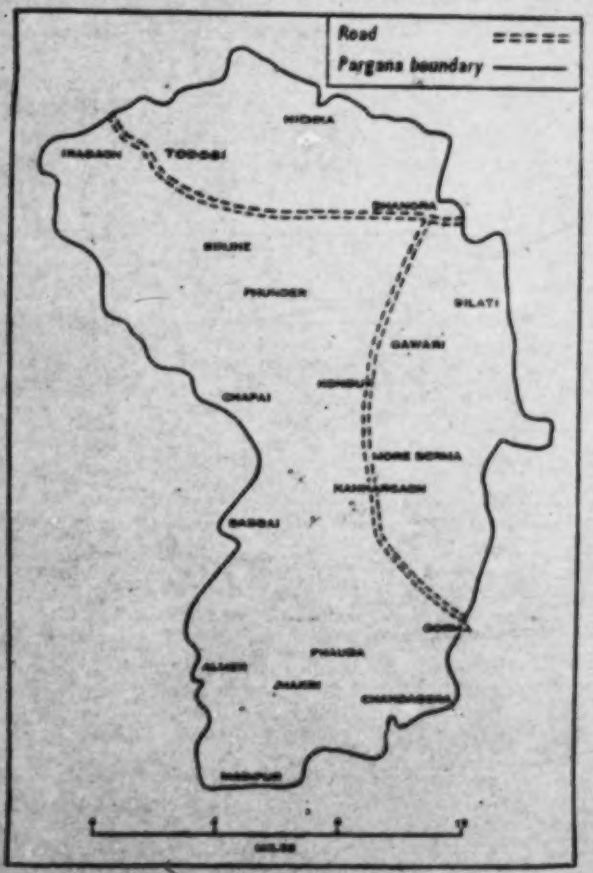
Konqur Pargana

This delightful pargana contains some of the most characteristic ghotul in the State. It lies between Bara Dongar to the east and the Bara Jhorian, Kolur, Baragaon and Benur Parganas to the west. As you move across it you leave



SKETCH-MAP OF THE KONQUR PARGANA

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typical Koudagaon villages where the Chait Dandar is danced and the boys have little decoration, and come to as typical Jhoria villages, where the Lingo legend

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is known, the Pus Kolang and Diwali are danced, marriages are celebrated in the bridegroom's house, and a full megalithic culture survives. There is a range of pleasant hills in the east of the pargana.

***	Almer ..	AB	17	15	Visited 23-4-41.
	Amgaon ..	..	9	8	
*	Badgai ..	AB	23	25	
*	Baniagaon	AB	10	9	
*	Banjora ..	AB	10	5	
*	Barda ..	AB	13	8	
**	Bargaon ..	AB	23	17	
	Barwar ..	..	11	12	
*	Belgaon ..	AB	8	7	
*	Bhatgaon ..	J	11	8	
	Bhongapal ..	..	12	10	
***	BINJHE ..	AB	41	37	Camped here 10-12-41.
**	Bokrabera ..	AB	22	19	
*	Botha ..	J	9	7	
**	Buiki Junganar	AB	15	13	
***	CHANDABERA	AB	24	17	Visited with S.H. 12-14-11-41. Admirable headman and ghotul.
***	Chaniyagaon	AB	34	23	
**	Chapai ..	J	15	13	
	Chhindlibera	..	9	9	
*	Churegaon	AB	20	17	
*	Daure ..	J	8	7	
*	Deogaon ..	AB	12	9	
***	Dhanora ..	AB	20	28	Visited 11-12-41. Shrine of Kanda Dokara, Lingo's brother.
	Dundaberma	..	11	9	
*	Eragaon ..	AB	14	12	
*	Gadar ..	AB	10	9	
**	Gawari ..	AB	14	11	
***	GORMA ..	J	20	22	An important village. Saw funeral on 10-11-41. Camp from 7-12-11-41 with S.H.
	Hichka ..	..	10	9	
*	Iragaon ..	AB	9	7	
	Jamgaon ..	..	7	8	
***	JHAKRI ..	AB	17	11	A fascinating village among hills. Friendly and informative ghotul. Visited with S.H. on 11-11-41.
*	Kalepal ..	AB	8	6	
**	Kanagaon	AB	18	16	
***	KANHARGAON	J	13	8	Camp here from 4-12-41 to 22-12-41. Most friendly and interesting.
*	Karmari ..	AB	12	13	
	Karraormetta	..	21	19	
*	Kawagaon	AB	9	9	
**	Khandsara	AB	9	9	
	Khanlikurd	..	10	11	
	Khawlikala	..	9	7	
*	Kokarajunganar	AB	8	9	
*	Kondapakhna	AB	7	8	
***	Kongur ..	AB	62	49	An important village, the headquarters of the pargana.
*	Korgaon ..	AB	19	14	
*	Korkoti ..	AB	10	10	
*	Kotpar ..	J	8	6	
*	Mainpur ..	AB	7	7	

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* Markara ..	AB	16	14	
Misri ..	..	6	5	
* More ..	AB	5	7	
*** More Berma	J	24	21	One of the friendliest villages in Bastar. Adjoins Kanhargaon, where I camped 4-22-12-41.
* Net ..	AB	6	5	
* Oragaon ..	AB	7	7	
* Padde ..	AB	8	6	
** Palna ..	AB	10	8	
Parali ..	..	5	3	
** Pharsagaon	J	14	12	
*** Phauda ..	AB	20	15	Visited with S.H. 9-11-41. A large lively Jhoria village. Chelik danced at Dongrigura, 25-2-42.
*** Phunder ..	AB	45	39	Visited 8-12-41.
* Randhna ..	AB	13	9	
** Silati ..	AB	11	7	
Timri ..	..	11	9	
*** Todosi ..	AB	27	25	Visited 9-3-38 with S.H. A rather dull village.
* Torand ..	J	9	8	
* Toyapal ..	AB	6	5	
Turki ..	..	7	3	
Umla ..	..	10	10	
* Uramdbera	AB	9	9	

Kopra Pargana

A small pargana east of the main Keskal-Jagdalpur road, and a little north of Pharsagaon.

* Kopra ..	AB	27	21	
* Korhobera .	J	15	12	
Kuldadih ..	..	6	5	
Nawkabera	..	17	11	
* Taraibera ..	AB	16	15	

Makri Pargana

This pargana lies north of the Amrawati Pargana, in and around the Makri Reserved Forest and a forest reserve described by Grigson as 'a sportsman's paradise full of buffalo, bison, barasing and all the deer of Central India'.

*** Baghbera ..	AB	19	15	A pleasant village, with very friendly ghotul near the Jeypore border. Visited 28-12-41.
Khuri ..	..	8	5	
Lubha ..	..	16	11	
Pirhapal ..	..	7	7	
*** Randhna	AB	21	18	A pretty place among hills. Megalithic substitutes. Legend of Usarengi Palli. Visited 30-12-41.
Sarsa ..	AB	5	4	
** Sorna ..	AB	15	13	

Mardapal Pargana

A large pargana in the extreme south-west of the tahsil. Chota Dongar and the approach to the Abujhmar is only a few miles from its western boundary. It has

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the Golawand Forest on its eastern side and the Baordig river flows through it. Although it is a typical Jhoria pargana, the ghotul has almost entirely disappeared, probably through the influence of Raja Muria from Jagdalpur Tahsil which borders it. But chelik and motiari in full dress go to dance at marriages and festivals. They go as far as the Kondagaon and Narayanpur Marhai in the north and the Ghotpal Marhai in the south. All the intimacies of ghotul life appear to be preserved, even though the buildings have gone.

***	Esalnar ..	AB	18	16	An important and interesting ghotul. Met the chelik and motiari of this and Rengagondi on several occasions. Since the establishment of the Golawand Forest Reserve, Esalnar has been placed in the Bhanuni Pargana.
***	Rengagondi	J	18	15	

Sampur Pargana

A pargana with very scattered villages in the area to the north of Kondagaon.

*	Athgaon ..	AB	6	9	
*	Babai ..	AB	25	19	
*	Badra ..	AB	8	9	
	Balenga ..	..	22	19	
*	Balond ..	AB	25	23	
	Bamskot ..	..	28	23	
***	Bhanpuri	AB	21	18	Visited 31-10-41-2-11-41. A good village. Saw the 'Diwali-Werk' and appointment of a Diwan.
*	Bhiragaon	J	10	9	
	Budra ..	..	14	13	
**	Charkai ..	AB	23	19	
	Chichari ..	..	12	15	
	Gattipalna	..	10	3	
*	Girola ..	AB	12	11	
	Jarkongera	..	14	12	
***	Jungani ..	AB	27	19	Witnessed the boys and girls doing the Malma Dandar on 2-4-41.
	Kibaibalenga	..	10	7	
*	Kokori ..	AB	24	19	
	Kosagaon ..	..	4	3	
**	Libagaon ..	AB	31	31	
*	Lubha ..	AB	8	7	
**	Otenda ..	AB	34	29	
	Pasangi ..	..	10	6	
	Pirhapal ..	..	11	12	
**	Rajpur ..	AB	20	18	
	Satgaon ..	..	5	4	
***	Sirai ..	AB	17	15	Saw the motiari dance the Diwali on 29-10-41.
***	Sirpur ..	AB	18	23	Visited 28-30-10-41. Good stilt-walking and falconry.
	Termunda	..	5	6	

Sonamal Pargana

A pargana with villages so widely scattered all over the tahsil that its name has no geographical significance.

***	Bastagaon	AB	38	33	Large mixed village on main road with school. Visited often.

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* Banjora ..	AB	9	8	
* Baphna ..	AB	9	9	
* Bhandarwasi	AB	42	38	
* Bunagaon	J	11	9	
* Chawrang	AB	12	14	
* Chema ..	AB	8	7	
* Chikalputi ..	AB	5	5	
*** Dahikonga	AB	20	16	Mixed village on main road; ghotul closed in 1941 by landlord's orders.
Gaseri ..	..	7	5	
* Golawand	AB	9	8	
** Haddigaon	AB	14	13	
** Hangwar ..	AB	15	10	
*** Hathipakna	AB	20	18	Met chelik on 3-11-41 when they danced magnificently.
*** Jaitpuri ..	AB	20	13	Frequent contacts.
* Jhara ..	AB	8	6	
*** Kadonga ..	AB	27	22	Camped 3-6-11-41 with S.H. One of the most interesting villages.
*** Kachora ..	AB	12	10	Visited 9-11-3-41. A small ghotul but full of life and wonderful dancing.
** Kanera ..	AB	8	6	
* Karanji ..	J	14	12	
*** Kerawahi ..	AB	36	29	Interesting and informative people.
* Khandam	AB	12	11	
*** Kondagaon	AB	32	29	Ghotul in Jamkot Para. First visited in February 1935 with S.H. W Kaufmann recorded dance music here in February 1941.
* Kunna ..	J	11	9	
*** Lanjora ..	AB	63	56	Figures are for two hamlets. On main road. Bazaar. Visited in 1937 and 1940. My son, three weeks old, made his first acquaintance with the Muria at this camp.
*** Malakot ..	AB	27	21	Visited with S.H. 1-3-4-41. Saw two weddings. Lovely open scenery and nice people.
** Maranar ..	AB	19	15	
*** Magora ..	AB	44	39	First visited by S.H. in March 1938. Made a small permanent camp here and used it as headquarters 1940-2 for Kondagaon Tahsil. Friendly, unspoilt, though on main road.
** Mulmula ..	AB	21	16	
* Newta ..	AB	8	10	
*** Palli ..	J	64	42	Visited by S.H. 6-4-41. Contacts also in 1942.
Permapal ..	J	12	11	
*** Pipra ..	J	130	137	Figures are for several hamlets, one of which is Kuntpadar where I camped 11-13-11-40.
* Polang ..	AB	12	11	
** Punewand	AB	10	7	
** Rajegaon ..	AB	8	7	
* Sambalpur	AB	16	13	
* Singanpur	AB	27	25	
** Sonawal ..	AB	15	14	
Tikarwand ..	..	3	4	
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THE NARAYANPUR TAHSIL

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Amabera Pargana

This pargana occupies the north-east corner of the tahsil. The countryside is hilly, wild and beautiful. The Lingo legend is known and the Pus Kolang dance performed everywhere, as we would expect seeing that this pargana is the scene of many of Lingo's exploits and his central shrine is at Semurgaon. Ghotul buildings here are draughty and uncomfortable, and the people, especially those near the Kanker border, suspicious and unfriendly.

Bara Teora	AB	8	7	
* Boragaon ..	AB	6	5	
* Changori ..	AB	21	19	
* Chichgaon	AB	8	7	
*** Chikhli ..	AB	18	16	A very dull ghotul. Visited 14-16-12-41, and was ill there, but witnessed an interesting elopement.
* Gergaon ..	AB	9	7	
** Kesarbera	AB	8	10	
* Kohchur ..	AB	5	4	
* Kolihari ..	AB	8	9	
*** Lohatar ..	AB	6	7	A mixed village with small ghotul.
* Matla ..	AB	5	5	
Nagarbera..	..	15	11	
Nilgundi ..	..	6	5	
Padargaon	..	10	11	
*** PENJORI ..	AB	17	15	Wild and beautiful village, visited 10-6-40. Good ghotul.
*** PUPGAON ..	AB	20	22	Visited 2-4-12-40.
* Pusaghati	AB	11	9	
Rajpur ..	..	8	7	
*** Semurgaon	AB	9	7	Visited 4-12-40. Shrine of Lingo Pen. Triennial festival.
* Tumasnar	AB	15	14	
Vetegaon ..	..	6	5	

Antagarh Pargana

Antagarh was formerly the headquarters of the tahsil, until Narayanpur supplanted it in 1940. The pargana runs along the northern boundary of the State. Ghotul customs are similar to those of Amabera, which adjoins Antagarh and is reached by a road descending over 1,000 feet down the Matlaghat. The Antagarh plain is only about 800 feet above sea level, the Chhattisgarhi language is popular and many ideas and customs of the lowlands are gradually invading this and the neighbouring parganas of the northern plain.

Bulawand	..	10	10	
Garda ..	..	8	7	
* Gawrekhasgaon	AB	19	17	
* Ghumsimunda	AB	9	7	
Godri ..	..	11	9	
* Gondbenapal	AB	18	16	
Himora ..	..	12	10	
* Hirribori ..	AB	8	9	
Jaitanawagaon	..	7	7	
*** Kalgaon ..	AB	14	17	
Kamta ..	..	13	12	
* Kanagaon	AB	11	9	
*** KARIKHODRA	AB	24	23	A charming village three miles from Antagarh with a well-built and flour-

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				ishing ghotul. Visited 9-6-40 and 4-12-40. The traditional scene of Lingo's final ordeal. Name means 'black hole'.
Kanrokhasgaon	..	7	8	
* Khorpani ..	AB	11	10	
* Konechur	AB	7	6	
* Koragaon ..	AB	10	10	
* Kotankhor	AB	11	12	
* Kuhche ..	AB	5	5	
*** Lamkanar	AB	9	9	Visited 8-6-40.
Masbafar ..	..	14	13	
Nawagaon ..	..	8	8	
Paiwari ..	..	4	6	
Pondgaon	..	14	8	
Pungaon ..	..	7	6	
Sureli ..	..	10	10	
* Sore ..	AB	16	14	
* Temrupani	AB	11	12	
Topal ..	..	9	8	
Yetebalka	..	4	3	

Bondadesh Pargana

This pargana is in the extreme north-west corner of Bastar, and has Drug District on its northern boundary. It is difficult of access, and though the ghotul exists, I am told that the people have become shy and sensitive about it. There are said to be a few ghotul across the border in Drug.

Bargaon ..	..	15	13
Bara Kapsi	..	11	10
Chhindpal	..	8	8
Deora ..	..	6	7
Dhorkatta ..	..	10	10
Ergutta ..	..	7	6
Herangarh	..	10	11
Jugani ..	..	11	9
Murawandi	..	14	12
Murjhar ..	..	9	9
Palamureli	..	10	9
Pitobhondiya	..	18	16

Baragaon Pargana

This is one of the typical 'Jhoria' parganas. It is situated near the eastern border of the tahsil, immediately south of the Jhorian Pargana with the Kolar Forest Reserve to the west.

*** Amasara ..	J	15	10	Visited 12-4-41 for a marriage.
*** Borpal ..	J	25	23	Visited 11-4-41.
*** Deogaon ..	AB	17	15	Met chelik in December 1940.
*** Erka ..	AB	10	10	Visited several times in 1941.
*** Gawari ..	AB	19	18	Met chelik in March 1941.
Huchari ..	..	12	10	
Irko ..	..	6	4	
** Kanagaon	AB	14	14	
** Kharkagaon	AB	17	15	
*** Khurpal ..	AB	13	12	Met the chelik of this village several times during 1941.

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Benur Pargana

A beautiful pargana on the eastern borders of the tahsil, by which the road from Kondagaon approaches Narayanpur. Here we are still on the high northern plateau, and the scenery is one of rugged hills and splendid forest. The ghotul are often carefully built and carved; chelik and motiari wear the full 'Jhoria' attire; memorial menhirs are erected. The Lingo legend is known and some villages dance the Pus Kolang: all send the motiari out for the Diwali dances.

*** Arpal ..	AB	16	12	Met chelik in December 1940.
Baghjhar ..	..	10	11	
*** Benur ..	AB	7	7	Formerly an important Muria village, it has now declined.
** Bhatpal ..	J	13	9	Many contacts in 1940.
* Borand ..	AB	9	8	
*** Chandagaon	AB	10	8	Met chelik in December 1940.
* Chhinari ..	AB	7	5	
* Dandwan ..	AB	5	4	
** Gohra ..	AB	13	12	
Gulumkodo ..	..	6	4	
*** Kalepal ..	AB	12	11	Met chelik in December 1940.
* Karhagaon	AB	8	9	
** Khargaon	AB	11	10	
** Koliyari ..	AB	14	12	
* Kulanar ..	AB	17	13	
** Kulhargaon	AB	14	12	
*** Malingnar	J	13	10	Visited 23-11-40.
Mandoki ..	..	11	9	
*** METAWAND	J	25	27	Visited with S.H. 13-18-12-40. Saw Pupal Korta Tindana and festival of clan-god on 15-12-40.
* Mundpal ..	J	9	6	
*** NAVANAR ..	AB	27	21	Visited 23-11-40, 12-14-4-41, and 26-4-41 with S.H.
** Netanar ..	J	9	8	
*** Panigaon ..	J	11	10	Met a number of chelik in December 1940.
*** REMAWAND	AB	17	16	Visited 21-24-11-40. Saw Diwali dancers from Markabera. Again visited with S.H., 23-4-41.
** Sonapal ..	AB	14	12	
Sirpur ..	..	8	6	
*** Turtha ..	J	13	11	Met several chelik in December 1940
** Uridgaon ..	AB	9	8	

Bhowra Pargana

This is really an Abujhmar Pargana, but there are Muria in some of the low-lying villages.

Chilparas ..	..	7	8	
* Gundul ..	AB	8	6	
Panidobri ..	..	13	12	

Chota Dongar Pargana

The great Chota Dongar Pargana lies half way across the southern part of the tahsil. The bulk of it is in the Abujhmar Mountains and is inhabited by Hill Maria. The road from Chota Dongar to Orcha through the Marian gorge has magnificent scenery. The Muria here are undoubtedly Hill Maria who have settled in the less inaccessible villages of the pargana. A large assembly of chelik

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and motiari in dancing dress, such as I witnessed in Koogera, is an unforgettable sight.

***	Aturgaon ..	J	28	19	Met many Muria from here on 6-2-41.
*	Bargaon ..	AB	19	14	
	Barma ..	..	8	6	
*	Chemeli ..	AB	9	7	
	Dhanora ..	..	9	8	
*	Durmi ..	AB	19	16	
**	Gaurdand	J	14	12	
*	Hevenar ..	AB	12	11	
*	Kanera ..	AB	24	21	
***	Kowasra ..	AB	50	45	Visited with W. Kaufmann 5-7-2-41.
**	Kosabar ..	AB	22	19	
*	Kumarl ..	J	18	18	
*	Machonar ..	AB	12	8	
*	Palli ..	J	13	11	
***	Rajpur ..	J	12	9	Visited 6-2-41.
*	Sulga ..	AB	8	7	
***	Turagaon ..	J	18	11	Many contacts in 1940-1.
*	Temrugaon	J	9	9	
***	Toinar ..	AB	18	16	Many contacts in 1940-2.

Dugal Pargana

The Dugal Pargana, which lies north of Narayanpur town and across the road to Antagarh, has some flourishing ghotul of the Jhoria type, though those near Narayanpur itself like Binjhli and Palki have modified their ornamentation considerably.

**	Aturbera ..	AB	15	12	
***	BINJHLI ..	AB	37	32	An important village, where I built a permanent camp. Stayed here with S.H. during November and December 1940 and often visited.
	Biriyabera ..		9	7	
***	Dugabangal	J (now AB)	19	17	Many contacts in 1940-1.
***	Garhbangal	J (now AB)	22	19	Many contacts in 1940-1.
	Kurlabba ..	..	17	11	
**	Kurlapal ..	AB	9	6	
	Kharkagaon ..	..	12	10	
**	Mahka ..	AB	25	23	
***	PALKI ..	AB	31	28	Frequent visits in November and December 1940 with S.H.
*	Salanga ..	J	11	10	

Jhorian Pargana

There were formerly two Jhorian Parganas, the Ghat Jhorian and the Bara Jhorian but the bulk of the former was included in the Kolar or Matia Forest Reserve. The present Jhorian Pargana lies on the eastern border of the tahsil and opens onto the Kongur Pargana of Kondagaon, with the western villages of which it has much in common. The ghotul are well built, carving is common, chelik and motiari adorn themselves in Jhoria style and dance like Hill Maria but with many embellishments. The Lingo legend is popular, boys dance the Pus Kolang and girls the Diwali. Marriages are in the bridegroom's house. Menhirs are erected to the dead.

*	Alnar ..	AB	12	10	

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***	BANDOPAL	AB	27	21	Visited 28-30-11-40 and again with S.H. 22-25-4-41.
	Bartanar ..	..	8	8	
	Garda ..	..	5	4	
*	Halainar ..	AB	6	5	
*	Karmari ..	AB	7	5	
	Kongera ..	..	8	4	
**	Kursai ..	AB	12	11	
**	Mule ..	J	12	9	
	Palarmeta	..	4	3	
	Pipra ..	..	3	2	
	Royi ..	..	4	3	
	Telanga ..	..	4	4	

Karangal Pargana

This pargana lies between Chota Dongar and Narayanpur. The chelik and motiari are of the Jhoria type and the customs throughout the pargana are similar to those described for the Jhorian Pargana, except that the cult of Lingo is weaker and only occasionally do the chelik go to dance the Deo Kolang. The motiari, however, dance the Diwali dances from village to village.

***	Amgaon ..	J	14	12	Visited with S.H. 10-12-40.
	Bara Jamri	..	10	9	
*	Baghdongri	AB	15	11	
***	Bakulwahi	J	29	27	Many contacts in 1940.
	Bamni ..	..	27	20	
***	Bangal ..	J	14	11	Many contacts in 1940-1.
*	Bawri ..	J	7	6	
**	Borand ..	J	9	8	
*	Borgaon ..	AB	8	8	
*	Deogaon ..	J	16	15	
	Derdul ..	..	12	7	
	Gotabenur	..	5	3	
***	Halami Munjmeta	J	11	10	Met chelik on 12-12-40.
***	KAPSI ..	J	29	19	Visited 9-12-40; contacts in February 1941 and 1942.
*	Karmari ..	AB	8	7	
**	Kharkagaon	J	13	12	
	Kochwahi	..	11	9	
*	Kokori ..	J	10	6	
*	Kukrajhor	AB	12	10	
**	Kumli ..	J	16	13	
*	Lalsuhnar	AB	7	6	
*	Malechur ..	J	9	8	
***	MARKABERA	J	16	17	Visited with S.H. 7-12-12-40; with W. Kaufmann 6-2-41; with B. S. Guha 28-2-42-2-3-42.
**	Moroskodo	J	12	11	
	Naumunmeta	..	6	7	
*	Nelwar ..	J	9	8	
	Sargipal ..	..	5	3	
*	Siwni ..	AB	13	9	
*	Tadopal ..	J	10	8	
***	Timnar ..	J	21	19	Many contacts during 1940-2.

Kalpatti Pargana

Kalpatti means 'lowlands' and this pargana is on the northern plain connecting with Chhattisgarh. Yet it has many links with the Hill Maria and the Abujhmar.

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Menhirs are erected, and the Pus Kolang is danced. The Lingo legend is known. Chhattisgarhi Hindi is generally spoken along with Gondi.

* Darwisalebbhat	AB	13	12	
*** Jiramtarai	AB	14	10	Met the chelik and motiari on 26-1-41 at Kollibera
* Kastura ..	AB	7	6	
* Kaurosalebbhat	AB	11	10	
*** KHUTGAON	AB	16	13	Visited 27-28-1-41. Remarkable Muria landlord.
*** KOLLIBERA	AB	23	21	Visited 25-26-1-41. Unforgettable river scenery. Saw Pus Kolang dance and ceremonies.
* Kurusbori	AB	7	8	
* Maragaon ..	AB	13	12	
Masur ..	..	6	3	
* Murawandi	AB	8	5	
* Murnar ..	AB	7	7	
Nawge ..	..	3	2	
*** Partapur ..	AB	14	12	Visited 29-1-41, but have no detailed knowledge of ghotul.
Pipli ..	..	8	6	
* Sulgi ..	AB	10	6	
* Tursani ..	AB	15	9	

Kiringal Pargana

This interesting pargana belongs properly to the Abujhmar, and the Muria here are obviously Hill Maria who have come down from the heights. The women often go bare-breasted, and the ghotul—though allowing full membership to girls—is still the centre of the male life of the village.

*** Barkot ..	J	14	12	Visited 30-1-41. Charming wooded village and nice people.
Ghoragaon ..		4	3	
Karekatta ..		7	4	
Kheregaon ..		7	3	
Maapi ..	..	6	4	
*** PALLI ..	J	17	14	Visited 29-1-41. Well-built ghotul and good dancing.

Kolar Pargana

A large pargana lying between Antagarh and Narayanpur with much fine mountain scenery. The hills above the magnificent Ranghat rise to 2,938 feet. The Abujhmar and Matlaghat hills join across the Pargana. Jhoria influence here is not very strong. The Pus Kolang is danced everywhere; menhirs are erected; marriages are celebrated in the bridegroom's house; the Lingo legend is known.

* Badrengi ..	AB	18	16	
* Bailasalebbhat	AB	18	15	
*** Bondanar ..	AB	15	13	Visited 7-6-40.
** Chingnar ..	AB	10	9	
Chipori ..	..	12	11	
** Hoychur ..	AB	8	5	
** Hurtarai ..	AB	9	6	
Kachwar ..	..	16	13	
* Kasadand	AB	12	9	
** Khaleparas	AB	19	15	
*** Kolar ..	AB	8	6	A large mixed village. Visited 22-1-41.
Kursel ..	..	4	2	
* Malmeta	AB	18	17	
* Murnar ..	AB	8	7	

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*** Padbera ..	J	21	19	A friendly and beautiful village in the hills. Visited 19-12-41.
*** PHULPAR ..	AB	47	39	Visited 22-24-1-41. Saw Pus Kolang dancing.
* Pusawahi ..	AB	24	13	
** Sarandi ..	AB	25	21	
* Sirsangi ..	AB	10	10	
** Talabera ..	AB	15	12	
Taralkatta ..	..	12	11	
* Tumapal ..	AB	8	5	
Veranar ..	..	15	13	

Narayanpur Pargana

A small pargana in the open country surrounding Narayanpur, the headquarters of the tahsil, where there are courts, a dispensary and school, and a very big bazaar to which come Hill Maria from the Abujhmar as well as large numbers of Jhoria Muria. I would not now call this a Jhoria pargana; external influence which first attacks externals has stripped the Muria of their delightful ornaments. The ghotul at Narayanpur is drab and rather corrupt.

* Garanji ..	AB	25	19	
*** Narayanpur	AB	34	31	Frequently visited with S.H. from 1937 to 1941.

Paralkot-Kalpatti Pargana

This pargana occupies the western end of the tahsil and includes the old zamindari of Paralkot. This is the gateway by which the influence of Chanda Hindus and Congressmen enters the State. The lovely Kotri river passes through the pargana and the hilly scenery on its eastern side which leads into the Abujhmar is attractive. Chelik and motiari on the east of the road and at Tarbaili are hardly to be distinguished from Hill Maria; the girls often go bare-breasted. But to the west, the people get more and more drab and uninteresting.

*** Betiya ..	AB	6	4	Visited 30-1-41–1-2-41.
Ghotanbera	..	11	9	
Irpanar ..	..	9	8	
Kanhargaon	..	8	7	
Karakoda	..	6	6	
* Kurenar ..	..	15	13	
* Markanar ..	..	9	9	
* Marora ..	..	12	11	
Mausamtola	..	10	10	
Nagaldand	..	11	10	
Parenga ..	..	7	8	
*** TARBAILI ..	..	15	13	A very attractive company came from this ghotul to dance at Betiya on 31-1-41.

Surewahi Pargana

This lies on the northern boundary of the State between the Antagarh and Khalpatti parganas, and is said to be very like them.

* Alkanhar ..	AB	16	14
* Amoli ..	AB	20	18
* Chargaon ..	AB	9	8
* Durpipli ..	AB	10	9
* Jethagaon	AB	9	5
* Maragaon ..	AB	14	12
* Nawagarh	AB	17	15
* Surewahi ..	AB	19	15

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CENSUS RETURNS

It may be of interest to give the Census returns for the different aboriginal tribes in Bastar. But it must be remembered that these figures are of unequal value. Any Census in a tribal area has to face unusual difficulties. There is first the muddle over the names of tribes—aboriginals are always changing their names to get a social lift; then the dislike of the people numbered to telling the truth; then the incapacity of the enumerators; and finally the very ancient objection of primitive people to being counted at all.[1]

But the figures for Bastar, such as they are, will be found below. In 1891, they were as follows:

Bhattra	21,459
Gond	70,069
Gotte	5,070
Halba	13,865
Jhoria	936
Koi	7,281
Maria	25,855
Muria	53,960
Parja	13,467
Tagara	396

In the next three enumerations all the aboriginals of Bastar—the Halba cannot really be counted as aboriginal—were counted together under the name Gond. In 1931 there was a fresh attempt at a more scientific classification, though this too was over-simplified and thus failed of its purpose. In 1931 the official figures were:

Bhattra	36,611
Gond	24,407
Koya	9,988
Maria	146,070
Muria	124,993
Parja	17,568

Fortunately the 1931 figures were collected in Jagdalpur and not (as in 1941) in Nagpur and hence it was possible for Grigson to examine them and make additional estimates which have much more scientific value. I will make a table of the figures taken from various parts of his book.

Bhattra	36,611
Bison-horn Maria	146,070
Gadaba	398
Ghotul Muria	61,000
Hill Maria	11,500
Jagdalpur Muria	32,000
Jhoria Muria	17,000
Koya	9,988
Parja	17,568

[1] In 1881, internal dissensions in Bastar 'brought the census operations to a standstill'. But May's Census of 1921 was 'conspicuous', as was Grigson's in 1931. Among the causes for public hostility, the C.P. Reports give such beliefs as that Government wanted the names of young girls for immoral purposes, that every tenth man was to be

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Nothing more vividly reveals the inadequacy of Census figures for ethnographic purposes, than a comparison of the 1931 official totals with those of 1941. There was no great epidemic, famine or migration to account for the changes.

	1931	1941
Bhattra	36,611	10,869
Dorla	..	14,605
Gond	24,407	16,620[1]
Koya	9,988	nil
Maria	146,070	120,110
Muria	124,993	219,654
Ojha	..	137
Pardhan or Pathari	..	960
Parja	17,568	25,820

The Northern Muria were distributed in 1941 as follows:

	Narayanpur Tahsil	Kondagaon Tahsil
North	16,365	33,146
West	1,322	..
South	16,480	33,555
TOTAL	34,167	66,701
GRAND TOTAL		100,868

The great majority of this 100,868 are Muria whose culture centres round the ghotul, though a few hundreds must be deducted for those under Bhattra influence in southern Kondagaon. The number of Jagdalpur Muria are now given as 36,682 as against the 32,000 estimated in 1931.

Grigson gives:

Jhoria Muria	17,000
Other Ghotul Muria	61,000

which makes a total for Ghotul Muria of 78,000, a figure which has now risen to roughly 100,000—the rate of increase is not unparalleled in other parts of the State. I think that Grigson probably underestimated the number of Jhoria Muria, as he did not include those living in the Kongur and Chalka Parganas. My very rough estimate for 1941 would therefore be:

Jhoria Muria	30,000
Other Ghotul Muria	70,000

Of the total number of 219,654 Muria, only 1,430 returned themselves as following the Hindu religion: in Narayanpur there were 246, in Kondagaon 12 and in Jagdalpur 336. It is curious that out of the heavily Hinduized Bhattra tribe only 34 out of 10,869 returned themselves as Hindus in 1941.

The figures for several of the other tribes have been thrown into confusion by the general custom of Bastar aboriginals calling themselves Muria, a term which is much more popular than Gond or even Raj Gond—words which are sometimes

sent to colonize Upper Burma and that human sacrifices were required for a goddess in Raigarh. Even now special offerings are made by Maria and Muria to purify their villages from the contagion of the Census.

[1] Even adding 933 Raj Gond, 96 Dhur Gond, 536 Mir Gond and 20 Dhurwa Gond, the total is only 17,225.

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used contemptuously in the State. Thus 44,048 Bison-horn Maria in the Dantewara Tahsil returned themselves as Muria in 1941 (though another 25,212 continued to call themselves Maria), and all but 4 of the 9,001 Bison-horn Maria in the Konta Tahsil returned themselves as Muria. The remarkable decrease in the number of Bhattra is probably due to the same cause, and the 9,988 Koya of 1931 have disappeared altogether. On the other hand, 14,605 persons in southern Bastar preferred to call themselves Dorla, and I have accordingly entered them under that name in the map at p. 21.

The present number of Hill Maria is probably in the neighbourhood of 13,000. My guess for the Bison-horn Maria, which is perhaps as good as anyone else's guess, is 175,000.

We may note finally that in 1941 there were in Bastar:

Banias	228
Brahmins	3,948[1]
Christians	2,704[2]
Kshatriyas	805
Mussalmans	2,060
Sondis	3,453
Telangas	11,734
Telis	1,619

[1] Of whom 3,307 were in the Jagdalpur Tahsil.
[2] Of whom 1,527 were 'Issi' and the rest 'Christian'.

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APPENDIX FIVE

STATISTICAL INQUIRY

An inquiry was made into certain specific matters relating to marriage from 2,000 adult married Muria men distributed in 220 villages. The total population of Muria who maintain ghotul is about 100,000, and the number of genuine Muria villages containing a ghotul in 1941 was 522. The villages chosen were distributed over the whole area except the extreme west and north-west, which it was not possible to visit and where indeed the ghotul tradition has been somewhat obscured by external influence.

I have given figures from this inquiry in many parts of the book, but for convenience I will re-assemble some of them here.

1

The Ages of the Men Consulted		
Between 20 and 30	..	445
,, 30 and 40	..	728
,, 40 and 50	..	567
50 and over	..	260

2

Number of Men who had Lived in Different Types of Ghotul	
Those living in *jodidār* ghotul	720
Those living in 'modern' ghotul	1,280

3

Marriage		
No. marrying girl to whom they were betrothed		1,884
No. of 'romantic' or forced marriages	..	116
No. marrying girls in their own ghotul	..	765
No. marrying girls in a different ghotul	..	1,235
No. marrying their ghotul wives	..	77
No. of Lamhada or service-marriages	..	113

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Cousin Marriages			
No. of *gudumol* marriages	..	..	1,189
No. of *butiyāri* marriages	..	..	805
Marriages between totally unrelated persons		..	6

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Divorces

No. of men still living with original wife	1,765
No. of widowers	176
Total number of successful marriages	1,941
No. of divorces	59
No. divorced of 765 who married girls of the same ghotul ..	21
No. divorced of 1,235 who married girls of different ghotul ..	38
No. divorced among 720 belonging to *jodidār* ghotul	27
No. divorced among 1,280 belonging to 'modern' ghotul	32
No. divorced among 1,884 who married their betrothed	49
No. divorced out of 116 'romantic' marriages	10
No. divorced out of 316 who had connexion before marriage ..	14
No. divorced out of 113 Lamhada	13
No. divorced out of 77 who married their ghotul wives	9
No. divorced out of 26 who married the girls they made pregnant in the ghotul	Nil

6

Pregnancies

No. of men who made a girl pregnant in the ghotul	80
No. of these living in *jodidār* ghotul	25
No. of these living in 'modern' ghotul	55
No. of men marrying girls already made pregnant by someone else ..	49
No. of men marrying girls made pregnant by themselves	26
No. of 113 Lamhada making their own betrothed pregnant ..	5

7

Polygyny

No. of Muria males (1941 Census)	51,373
No. of Muria females	49,495
No. of plural marriages	44
No. out of these 44 claiming to be successful ..	29

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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language on aboriginal populations, and it seems more probable that such tribes as the Muria Gonds, with their close cultural and racial affinities to the Austroasiatic Gadabas of Orissa, were subject to a change of language than that they immigrated from distant parts of Southern India.

We are not yet in a position to surmise which population may have been responsible for the spread of Gondi or which pre-Dravidian languages Gondi may have replaced. Both questions will perhaps remain for ever unanswered, but linguistic research among the Gondi speaking peoples, the still entirely mysterious Khonds, and the neighbouring Austroasiatic tribes may still lead to surprising results. Since the days of Grierson's Linguistic Survey few trained linguists have done fieldwork among the tribal populations of Peninsular India, and the most admirable descriptive works of amateurs cannot compensate for the absence of comparative studies by experts.[1]

The replacement of an older language by one of more recent introduction, is an accomplished fact among many of the eastern and northern Gonds, who speak now the Chhattisgarhi dialect of Hindi and various other local dialects. But there can be no doubt that these Aryan languages were adopted from neighbouring Hindu populations instead of tribal tongues, and certain place-names are to-day the only evidence that the languages previously spoken were related to the Gondi spoken by other sections of the Gond family.

According to the Census of India the total number of Gonds in 1931[2] was 3,063,753. With their strong tribal consciousness they are the premier aboriginal race of India, exceeding by more than one million the number of Bhils and dwarfing such tribes as Oraons, Mundas, Hos and Santals.

The majority of Gonds—2,261,138 in 1931—are found in the Central Provinces and Berar, which contain practically all the territories known to the early Moghul writers as Gondwana. Except for Buldana in the extreme south-west, there is no district in the Central Provinces

1. The limited value of linguistic material contained in the writings of anthropologists is to some more obvious than to the authors; such texts, for instance, as given in this volume may facilitate the linguist's approach to an unwritten language, but they are insufficient as a basis for linguistic conclusions. For very relevant phonetic peculiarities may entirely escape the attention of the untrained observer, or defeat his attempts at recording them. In linguistics as in anthropology there is no substitute for field work. The dearth of authoritative works on the tribal languages of India was lamented by J. H. Hutton in his Census report: "There is, however, a serious void in our knowledge in that no intensive work appears to have been done on the tribal dialects of southern India, so that it is impossible to say whether the Munda languages ever penetrated to the extreme south of India or not. The linguistic survey unfortunately did not include southern India in its scope, and there is therefore a crying need for an intensive study of the dialects spoken by such tribes as the Kadar, Kurumans, Paliyans, Panians and Thanda Pulayans, with the object of discovering whether or no any Munda survivals are to be found." (*Op. cit.*, p. 158). Hutton's call to linguists has, to my knowledge, remained largely unheeded. M. B. Emeneau who worked among the Todas being a laudable exception. But equally urgent as the study of the tribal dialects of South India is intensive work on the tribal language of the Central belt.

2. No later figures for individual tribes are available, the Census operations of 1941 having been curtailed for reasons of economy.

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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101 without a considerable Gond population, but the main strongholds of
162 the Gonds are to-day the Satpura plateau including the districts of Betul,
197 Chhindwara and Seoni, where the western type of Gondi is spoken, Mandla and Chhattisgarh in the east, where the Gonds have adopted the local dialect of eastern Hindi but retained their tribal identity, and in the south Chanda and the neighbouring Yeotmal, where the language is Gondi, but of a dialect somewhat different from the Gondi of Betul.

101 To the north-west the Gonds extend across the Narbada River into
691 Central India, and are particularly numerous in Indore State; to the
197 east of the Central Provinces lie the states of Gond princes, such as
[619] Kawardha, Sakti, Raigarh and Sarangarh, to-day known as the Chhattisgarh States. Although neither these Gond rajas, nor indeed the Gonds among their subjects speak Gondi, they are fully conscious of their tribal associations and the high status of the ruling princes adds no doubt to tribal prestige in the whole of Chhattisgarh.

Further south, bordering on Chanda, Drug and Raipur, extend the two States of Kanker and Bastar, where Gonds constitute the majority of the population. Bastar in particular is the home of three important groups of Gonds: the Murias, the Hill Marias and the Bisonhorn Marias, all of which differ in language and custom very considerably from the Gonds of the Central Provinces.[1] Their colourful and complex cul-
[174] tures are representative of ancient aboriginal India and show obvious affinities with the Austroasiatic cultures of Orissa and Chota Nagpur. Bastar has also part in the Koyas or Dorlas of the Godavari area, the most southern branch of the Gond family occurring in considerable strength in Madras Presidency and Hyderabad State and stretching across the barrier of the Eastern Ghats into the vicinity of Rajahmundry. Most Koyas still speak a dialect of Gondi, but those surrounded by Telugu populations, have changed over to Telugu.

Another substantial group of Gonds, closely akin to the Gonds of Yeotmal and Chanda, is found in the hilly country between the Godavari and the Penganga Rivers constituting the Adilabad District of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, and it is these Gonds who form the subject of the present work.

101 All the Gonds of Adilabad, except for an insignificant overflow of
186 Dhurwe Gonds from Chanda, consider themselves Raj Gonds, and this brings us to the still somewhat problematic division between Raj Gonds and Dhur or Dhurwe Gonds, which runs through the greater part of the Gond population within the Central Provinces. There seems to be no uniformity in the principles ruling this division; in Chhattisgarh only the members of ruling or formerly ruling families are described as Raj Gond, while in other parts most of the land-holding Gonds aspire to this denomination. In recent times the name Raj Gond has also been
[66] claimed by certain Gonds who have tried to raise their social status by

1. The Hill Marias extend into the hills of the neighbouring Chanda District.

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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on the economic and social position of the Gonds were far reaching, and the repercussions attendant on the opening up of the District will be discussed in Book II, while reference to the newly established culture-contacts with non-aboriginal immigrants from both Telingana and Marathwara are contained in Chapter III.

In 1941 the Gonds of Hyderabad numbered 141,335, which is only a fraction of India's entire Gond population of more than 3,000,000. If we remember that this is about ten times the strength of the aboriginal population of the Australian continent at the time of discovery, and far exceeds in numbers the Red Indians in North America, it is indeed surprising to find only a slender volume of literature on this remarkable group of peoples.

The first reference to the Gonds in scientific literature is perhaps the small list of Gondi words communicated in 1844 by Dr. Voysey to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.[2] A somewhat larger one, together with a few grammatical notes was given in 1847 by Dr. O. Manager,[3] and the following year B. H. Hodgson published in the same journal a comparative vocabulary of Dravidian dialects containing among others Gondi and Oraon words.[5] Fuller, though by no means complete, are the grammar and vocabulary of the Gondi spoken in the Chindwara District, compiled by the Rev. James Dawson in 1872.[4]

But the earliest ethnological account of the Gonds is contained in the Rev. Stephen Hislop's remarkable *Papers on the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, edited by Sir R. Temple in 1866.[5] This book, though somewhat confusing in the presentation of material, is a mine of information for the initiated, and will be of permanent value for its very full version of a cycle of Gond myths both in Gondi and English. Fairly lengthy notes on various sections of Gonds are found in the administrative reports and papers of several of Hislop's contemporaries, notably Captain C. I. R. Glasfurd,[6] Major C. B. Lucie-Smith,[7] Sir R. Temple,[8] Sir C. Grant,[9] and Col. Ward,[10] but the information contained in these is of very uneven character. The next impor-

1. Vol. XIII. p. 19.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI. p. 286.
3. "The Aborigines of Central India." *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII. Part I. pp. 550—558.
4. *Ibid.* Vol. XXXIX. pp. 108—117, 172—198.
5. Nagpur 1866.
6. *Report on the Dependency of Bastar.* 1862, Selection from Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department No. XXXIX, Calcutta 1863.—*Report on Land Revenue Settlement of Upper Godavari District*, Nagpur 1868.
7. *Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of Chanda District*, Nagpur 1870.
8. *Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces up to August 1862.* (Reprint) Nagpur 1923.—*Report on the Zamindaris and other Petty Chiefships in the Central Provinces in 1863* (Reprint) Nagpur 1923.
9. *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, Nagpur 1870.
10. Mandla Settlement Report 1868.